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CRETAN EXPEDITION

VI.

SOME ROMAN BUSTS IN THE MUSEUM OF THE SYLLOGOS OF CANDIA

[PLATES XII, XIII]

THE four heads which are published in full-face in the text and in profile in PLATE XII were found at Gortyna in the *Agora*, and are of about the same size and period. They are Roman portraits, and from their family resemblance, and from having been found exhibited in a public place, there is no doubt that they represent members of the imperial family of the Julian and Claudian houses.

A. (Figure 1 and PLATE XII, No. 1.) This head is made with its neck finished for insertion in a statue. It is of fine-grained, brilliant Greek marble, and is 0.39 m. high. It represents a beardless youth about twenty years old, with short hair combed over the forehead, covered with the toga for the sacrifice. The pupils are not marked. The back of the head is wanting. It has been proposed by some to identify this head as the portrait of Caligula, and there is certainly something in the form which reminds one of some of the identified portraits of this emperor; for example, the flat head, the prominent chin and the straight forehead, which appear on the coins of Cali-

gula.¹ The bust at Turin² could not be used as an argument against this hypothesis because the upper part of its cranium has been restored. It is true that the portraits of Caligula

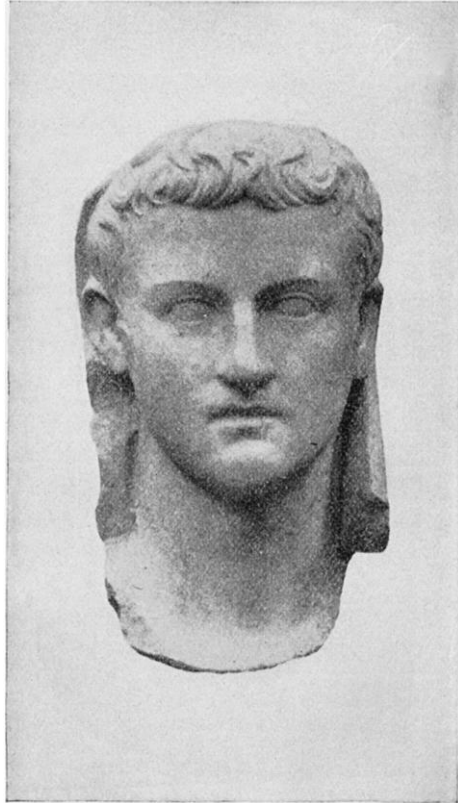


FIGURE 1.—AUGUSTUS.

hardly ever represent him as bald and with stern eyes, as he really was, except in the veiled head in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian.³ Still, our bust has too noble a head and too sweet an expression to make it possible to regard it as a portrait of Caligula. I am therefore inclined to follow the opin-

¹ Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.*, II, i, pl. xxxiv, No. 2.

² *Ibid.* p. 307, No. 15 and figure 47.

³ Hall H., No. 1. See Helbig, *Coll. of Antiq. in Rome*, No. 1024.

ion of Helbig, who believes it to be rather a young Augustus. This opinion is supported by a comparison with the Vatican bust¹ in which we find the same oval in the face, the same arrangement of hair, the bell-shaped ears and the prominent chin. The incipient hair on the cheeks, starting at the lips (?), shows that the artist wished to represent him at a very youthful age; and, as a matter of fact, the majority of the posthumous portraits of Augustus represent him at about the age of twenty²—as if in memory and as a symbol of the new era. The Modena bust,³ which is here published (PLATE XIII) gives a good comparative example of the treatment of the hair: it is a very fine piece of sculpture, and, although it represents Augustus as older, it gives this detail of the growing beard, which would be an anachronism if it were not a symbol.

B. (Figure 2 and PLATE XII, No. 2.) A marble head like the preceding, measuring 0.39 m. down to the beginning of the neck. It represents a man of advanced years, covered by the toga, beardless, with short hair combed over the forehead. The end of the nose, a bit of the ears and an end of the mantle are broken. The pupils are not marked. It is left rough behind, as if it were to be placed in a niche. This head represents Tiberius. The form of the mouth with the retreating lower lip, the aquiline nose (which is preserved, for example, in the heads of the Louvre⁴ and of Berlin),⁵ the square cut of the hair along the forehead are all characteristics of this emperor. Especially well adapted for comparison is the beautiful portrait of Tiberius, of Greek workmanship, found at Athens,⁶ which, although it represents him as younger, still has the characteristic vertical wrinkles on either side of the mouth; we see also the large ears of the Claudii, and it differs only in accentuating the hori-

¹ Museo Chiaramonti, No. 416, Vatican. Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, p. 28, No. 9 and pl. ii.

² Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, pp. 60 ff.

³ See my report on the rearrangement of the Modena gallery, in the *Annuario delle Gallerie*, I, p. 57.

⁴ Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, p. 151, No. 39 and pl. vii.

⁵ Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, p. 153, No. 53 and fig. 22.

⁶ Arndt-Bruckmann, *Gr. u. Röm. Portraits*, pls. 19, 20.

zontal depression across the forehead. Since the portraits of

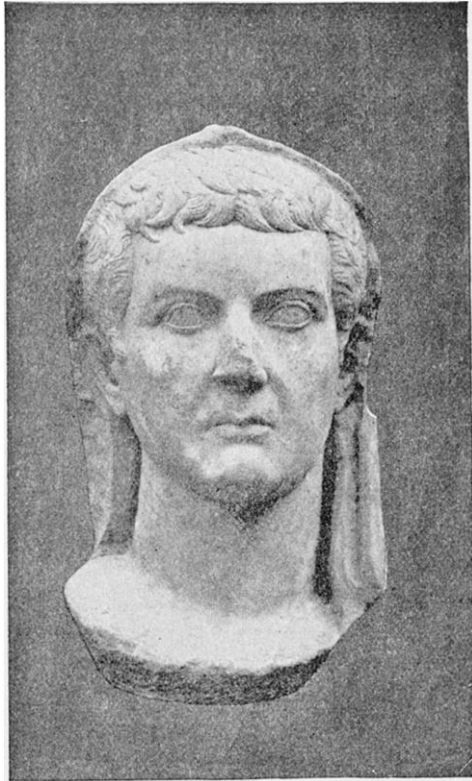


FIGURE 2.—TIBERIUS.

Tiberius in his old age are rare the present example is of considerable importance.

C. (Figure 3 and PLATE XII, No. 3.) A marble head like the preceding, of the same workmanship and plan; 0.35 m. high. It represents a woman between forty and fifty years old; stout, with thin lips and broad face, strong outlines, and with ears perforated for earrings. The waving hair is parted on the forehead, passes over the ears, and is then gathered in a mass which hangs down the neck, bound by a ribbon. The upper section of the cranium is executed in another piece of marble.

The nose and part of the left ear and a piece of the front of the neck are wanting and a bit of the chin is flaked off. It is well known that it is more difficult to obtain an exact resemblance in a female portrait than in that of a man, so that it will hardly be surprising that the proofs I am about to bring forward for the identification of this head may not seem so convincing as

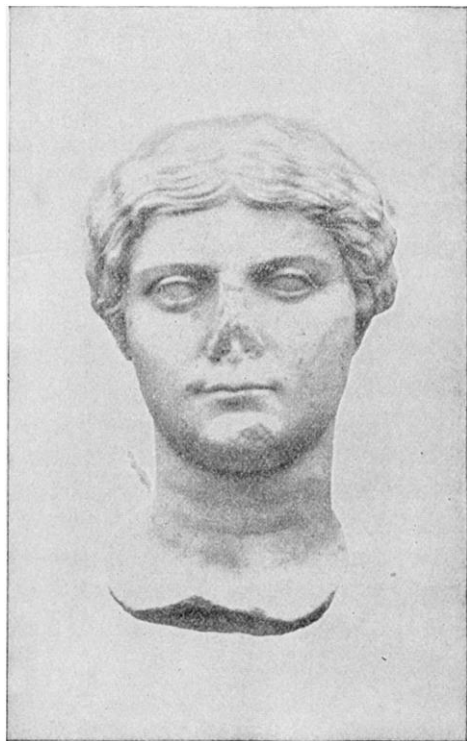


FIGURE 3.—LIVIA.

the preceding. It is evident that this is not a portrait of Agrippina the younger, as it is assumed to be in the catalogue of the Museum. It is sufficient to compare this head with that published by Mau¹ in order to see immediately that there is nothing in common except the broad face with strongly marked

¹ *Röm. Mitth.*, 1892, pp. 231 ff.

lines; but this is a characteristic of many types of this period (as for instance in the head of Minatia Polla,¹ etc.), and as this peculiarity was a favorite one of the Romans, it was made more marked by the arrangement of the hair: *Ora rotunda volunt*, says Ovid.²

On the other hand, there is one peculiarity which is at once noticeable in the Gortyna head,—the peculiar form of the mouth, with thin and tight lips, the lower lip drawn back. This is a characteristic of Tiberius, who inherited it from his mother. That this is a portrait of Livia seems to me proved by a comparison with the beautiful Copenhagen head published by Helbig.³ Besides the mouth, the arrangement of the hair also is the same—an arrangement which Livia must have followed to quite a late age,⁴ and very different from that of Agrippina the younger, which is in the fashion of the time of the Claudii. The only difference is the loss of the curls, a sign that in the course of years her hair had grown thin; the curls are not represented on the coins published by Helbig. The extreme plumpness may be regarded perhaps as an alteration of the type, unless it be peculiar to a certain period in the life of Livia, who, in the course of years, grew very much thinner. This portrait regarded chronologically seems to come midway between that of Copenhagen and that of Naples; a still more advanced stage of the latter type is, on the other hand, represented in the small very well-carved head in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian.⁵

D. (Figure 4 and PLATE XII, No. 4.) A head of the same marble as the preceding, 0.40 m. high. It represents a beardless young man about thirty years old: the face is square, the hair

¹ Museum of Baths of Diocletian, Hall H, No. 7; Helbig, *Coll. of Ant. in Rome*, No. 1047.

² *Ars Amandi*, iii, 139.

³ *Röm. Mitth.*, 1887, pp. 1 ff., pl. i; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Gr. u. Röm. Portraits*, Nos. 5, 6.

⁴ Cf. the Naples portrait (Mau, *op. cit.*, p. 229); and the portrait in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian.

⁵ Hall H 2, No. 5: Helbig, *op. cit.*, No. 1021, who, however, attributes them to an earlier date.

short and brought forward over the forehead, the mouth small, and the eyebrows slightly contracted, giving a concentrated expression. The end of the nose and the ears are broken off; the chin was broken but has been refitted.

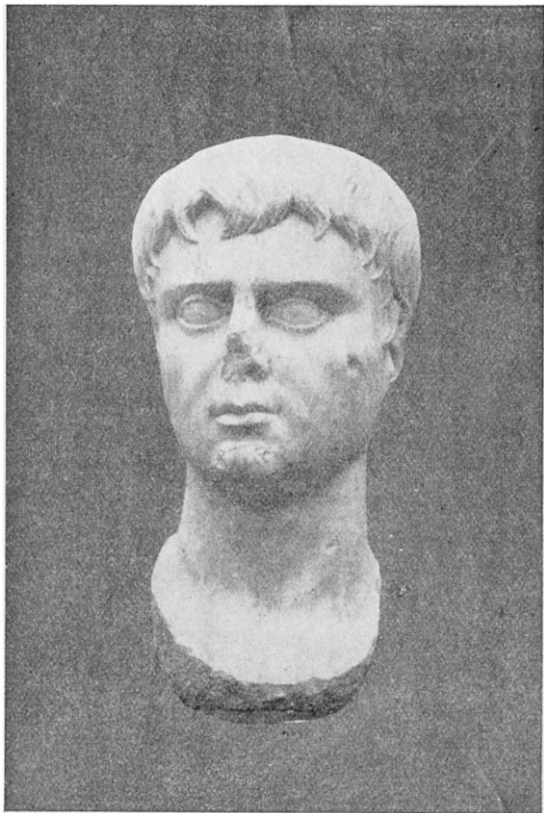


FIGURE 4.—GERMANICUS (?) OR A MEMBER OF THE JULIAN GENS.

This last head of the series represents a young man who must have belonged to the same family as the preceding. It has been regarded as a Germanicus; and as this is the only one among our male portraits not representing a Pontifex Maximus, nor bearing a resemblance to any emperor, it probably does represent a prince of the Julian or the Claudian house. Since, however, the iconography of the secondary members of these

families is extremely controverted, it seems to me difficult to attribute a name to this head, which is artistically the least important of the series. For this latter reason also the resemblance to the original is probably less exact than in the case of the others. The Gortyna head differs from what is usually regarded as the most certain portrait of Germanicus—the statue from Gabii in the Louvre¹—which is similar to that in the Lateran,² to which series may be added the beautiful head in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian.³ The differences consist especially in the eyes, which are larger in the Cretan bust; in the mouth, which is not undercut, and also in the line of the forehead, which is more inclined. It appears also from what remains of the nose that it was aquiline.⁴ There is, however, a greater similarity to the type on coins:⁵ namely, in the chin; in the slightly aquiline nose; in the large eyes and the hair. Besides, in the case of coin No. 16, the mouth is very similar to that of the Cretan head. For this reason I would not absolutely reject the possibility that this bust represents the great Roman general,—all the more since this is a posthumous and provincial portrait. But it should be noted that this identification was more natural in the beginning when this group of heads was regarded as composed entirely of the Claudian gens, whereas now I am inclined to attribute the group to the Julian. Among the members of this family there are several whose portraiture is not yet certified, so that it still remains possible that our head should represent, for instance, Caius Caesar, who had an aquiline nose, Agrippa or Postumus, to whom the intense gaze of his father would be suited, or some other member of the Julian gens.

As these sculptures were found in a province of the empire it is not remarkable that the individual traits are not expressed with such naturalness as to make the resemblances undeniable.

¹ Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, p. 237, No. 1 and pl. x.

² Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, pp. 238–239, Nos. 2–3 and plates ix, xiii.

³ Cloister, wing I, No. 10.

⁴ Cf. Mau, *Atti Accad. di Nap.*, XV, pp. 135 ff., especially p. 138, where the characteristics of the Claudii are described.

⁵ Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, pl. xxxiii, Nos. 14–16.

Such a resemblance can be expected only in works executed in Rome by artists who had constantly under their eyes the person to be represented; certainly not in Crete, where, although there were skilful sculptors, one cannot at the same time be certain of the fidelity of the reproduction. The fact that these heads are executed as detached pieces, with a neck arranged to be inserted in a statue, might lead one to suppose that these portraits were made elsewhere, perhaps in Rome, and then conveyed to the provinces. It is known, from the testimony of Josephus,¹ that Caligula had this done in the case of his portraits. A trait peculiar to this strange emperor, however, does not necessarily imply a common custom, and perhaps the very fact that it was thought worthy of note shows it to have been exceptional. Besides, the very fact that it is difficult to identify the portraits with certainty excludes this supposition *a priori*. Another reason also militates against it—the quality of the marble, which, had it been that of Luna, might have served as an argument for the Roman origin of these sculptures.

I will add to these Roman portraits a description of some cognate works belonging to the same collection.

E. (Figure 5.) Found at Chersonesos. A head without neck and wanting in the back part of the cranium, of fine-grained Greek marble,² and slightly above life-size. It is the portrait of a round-faced youth, beardless, with smooth hair which hangs fringe-like over his forehead, and is parted in the middle. The pupils are marked by a circular incised line, the irises by a half-moon and two holes made by a pointed trepan, and the eyebrows are marked with incised lines to indicate the hairs. The head is peculiar and at first gives one the impression of being a portrait of the Renaissance. The style of the sculpture, especially the way the pupils and the irises of the eyes are

¹ Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, i, p. 303.

² This marble, which is inferior to that of the preceding sculptures, is quite common in works of ancient Cretan art. I believe it comes from some quarry in Asia Minor.

treated, proves this head to be not earlier than the time of Hadrian; at this time also it was the custom even among the Greeks to wear a beard.¹ The man represented is an adult, but the plump, round, almost infantile quality of the form, and the smooth long hair, seem to show that it represents a eunuch. The fact that this head was found at Chersonesos might lead



FIGURE 5.—HEAD OF A EUNUCH.

one to suppose that the eunuch represented might be an *archigallus* or priest of Cybele. The goddess Britomartis worshipped at Chersonesos is an oriental deity derived from the Phrygian nature-goddess, as I expect soon to prove, and hence is related to Rhea; her priests therefore must have been of like

¹For example, a portrait of Apollodorus, contemporary with Hadrian: Arndt-Bruckmann, *Gr. u. Röm. Portraits*, Nos. 46, 47.

description to those of the Great Mother. Without laying special emphasis upon it, I have offered this hypothesis mainly in the hope of leading to future investigations especially in the important ruins of the *temenos* of Britomartis.¹

F. (Figure 6.) Another head from Gortyna representing a bearded man. The thick hair is divided into small heavy ringlets, partly worked with the *trepan*, and the pupils of the eyes

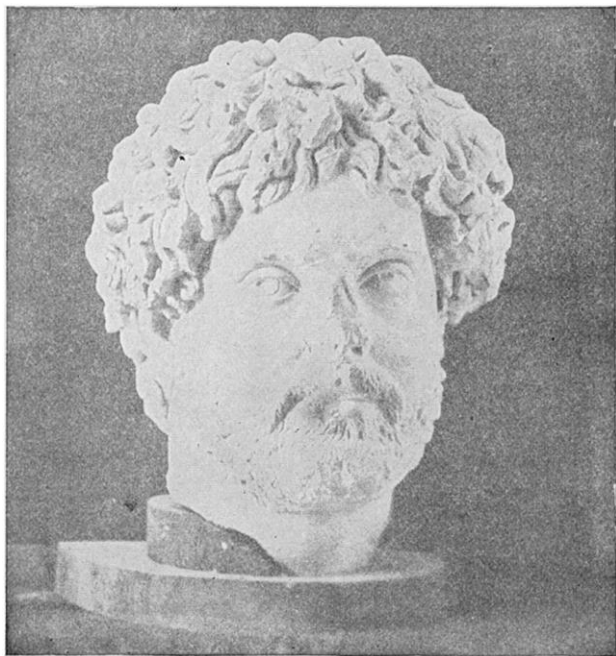


FIGURE 6.—PORTRAIT OF A ROMAN.

are indicated. The height is 0.33 m. It is a portrait of a Roman of the period between Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, as is shown by the arrangement of the heavy hair and short beard. As a work of sculpture it is excellent, full of life and expression, and is executed with a mastery of technique which was peculiar to the sculptors of the Antonine period. It is,

¹ L. Mariani, *Antichità cretesi in Monumenti Antichi*, VI, pp. 241 ff.

however, impossible to identify it with any well-known person. It cannot be attributed to any member of the imperial family, portraits of all of whom are known.

G. (Figure 7.) A portrait of almost the same period as the preceding is here reproduced not so much for its iconographic importance as for the artistic arrangement of the truncated figure.

It is cut in fine-grained Greek marble, perhaps Pentelic, with

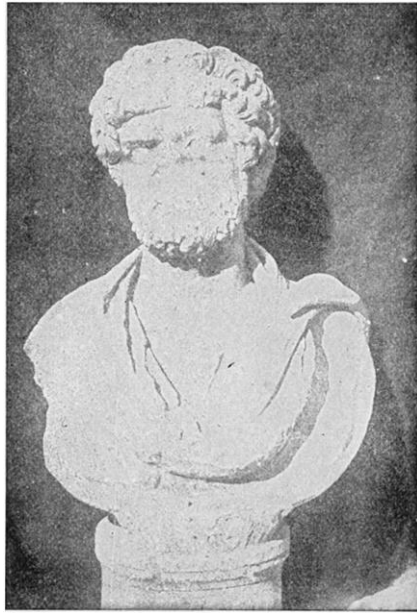


FIGURE 7.—PORTRAIT OF A ROMAN (SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS?)

bluish shadows. Height 0.72 m.; the head alone 0.25 m., the base 0.19 m. It represents a grown man, with heavy curly beard and hair. The head is slightly turned to the right. The truncated chest is covered with a mantle wrapped around after the fashion of a himation rather than a toga. The bust is rounded off to rest on a base with upper and lower cornice joined in front to the bust by a bunch of small acanthus leaves.

The expression of the flat thin face is serious, with knitted brows, and the eyes, which are slightly raised, have incised

pupils. The date is the second or third century of our era, but the workmanship may still be Greek, as is shown by the originality of treatment. The bad preservation of the face prevents any certain identification; the characteristics of the face and of the art point to its being a portrait of Septimius Severus, made in Greece, and therefore a poor likeness.

H. (Figure 8.) The last head is that of a boy. The manner

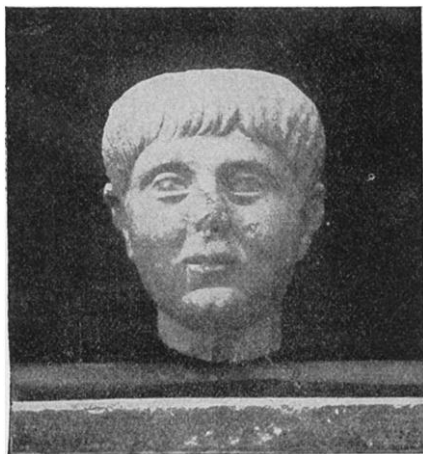


FIGURE 8.—PORTRAIT OF A BOY.

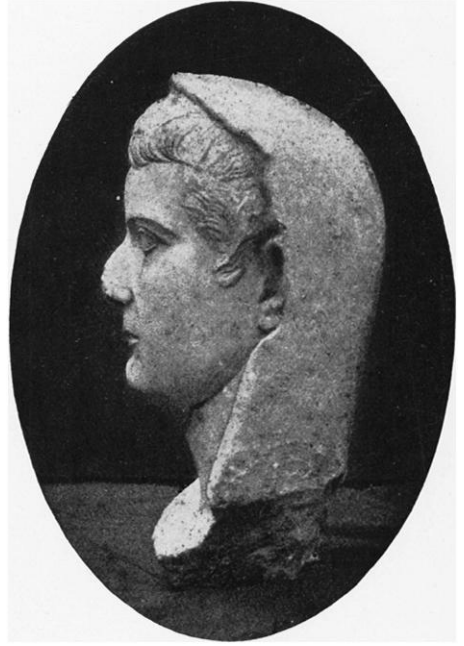
of arranging the hair and the type of face are of the time of the Julii or Claudii. As this head has the same characteristics as the one noted under D, it therefore seems to me probable that it represents a young prince of the same family. Still, the same difficulties in the way of identification make it impossible to be more definite.

LUCIO MARIANI.

ROME.



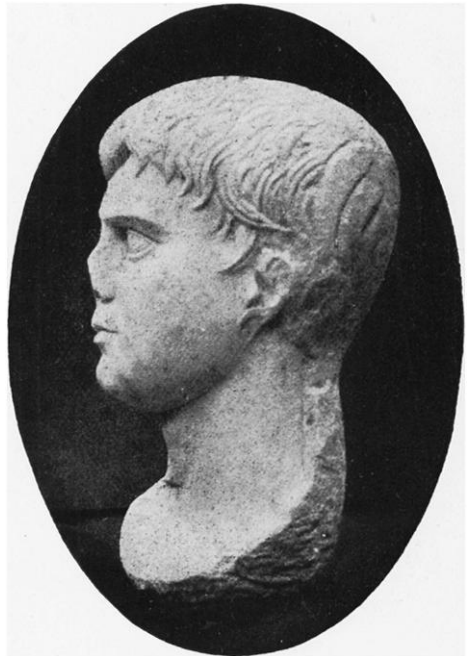
1. AUGUSTUS



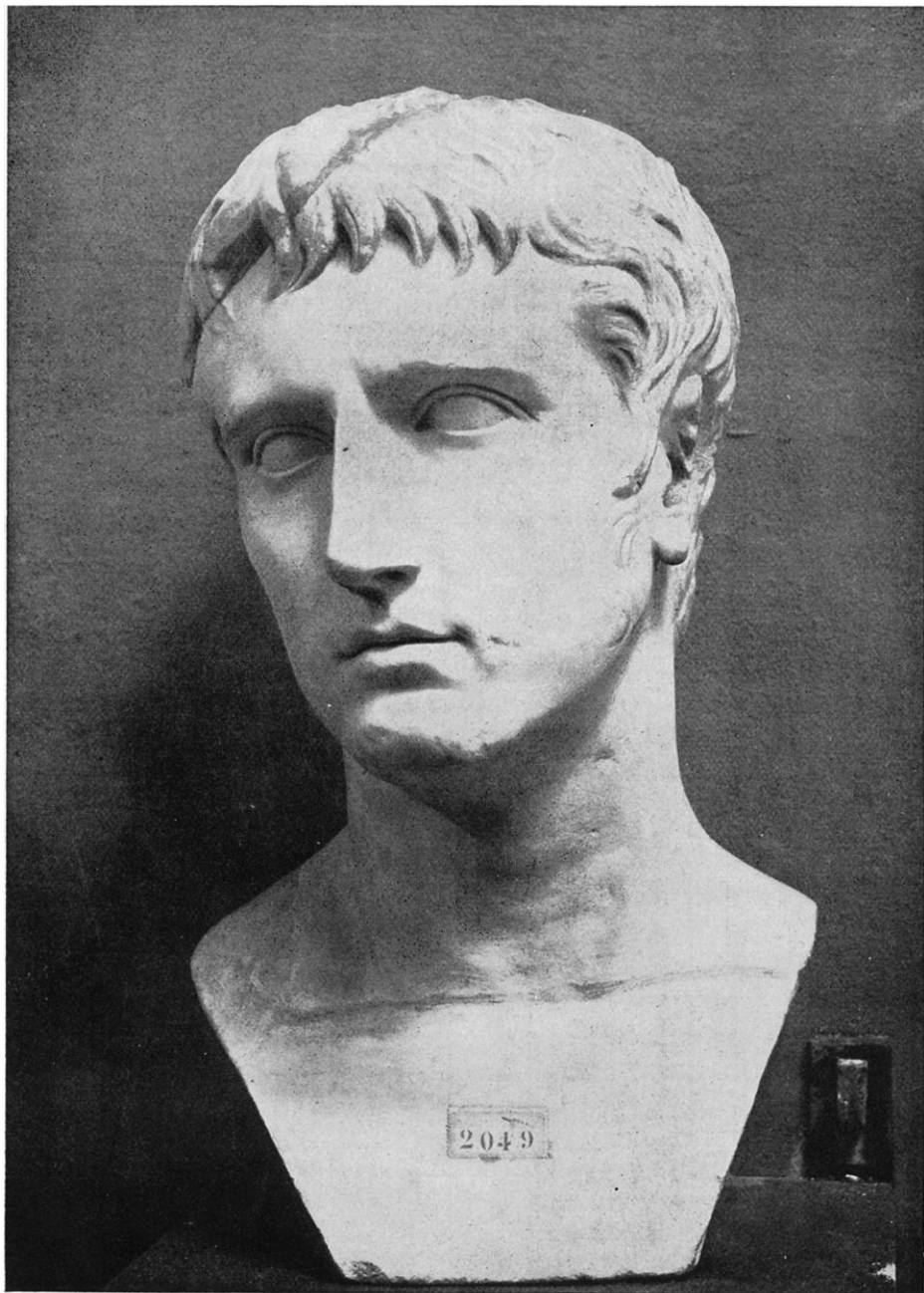
2. TIBERIUS



3. LIVIA



4. PRINCE OF THE JULIAN GENS (?)



HEAD OF AUGUSTUS
(MODENA)